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THE HISTORIAN WHO WOULD BE CHIEF: A BIOGRAPHY OF SIMON JILUNDU CHIBANZA III (1899 – 1974)*

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ABSTRACT: By recovering from obscurity the life story of an early Zambian historian, this paper makes a case for the adoption of a biographical approach to the study of Africa's colonial history. It argues that Simon Jilundu Chibanza III's trajectory provides valuable insights into the ambivalent social location and intricate motivations of the Zambian intelligentsia during colonial rule. An examination of his background and variegated career accounts for the complexity of his identity and the imprints which its multiple strands left upon his literary output and profound understanding of the politics of history-writing.

KEY WORDS: Biography, ethnicity, historiography, identity, Kaonde, politics, Zambia.

INTRODUCTION

UNLIKE in West Africa and the Great Lakes Region, where the critical analysis of 'literate ethno-history' in the colonial period has long been recognized as a worthwhile intellectual pursuit,[1] the pre-academic historiography of south-central Africa, in general, and Zambia, in particular, has only recently begun to attract the attention of modern historians.[2] While this paper is primarily intended to contribute to the rectification of this comparative scholarly neglect, it can also be read as an implicit indictment of the overall dearth of African historical biography and a declaration of belief in the genre's potential for rescuing Africans from the all-too-common 'fate of being symbols rather than real people.'[3] It is my contention that the study of the life and works of Simon Jilundu Chibanza Chibanza III throws much light on the complexity of the world inhabited by Zambian literate intellectuals in the first half of the twentieth century.[4] For Simon's biography is an extreme example of the densely interwoven set of contradictory social and cultural influences which informed the identities and professional lives of a large number of his contemporary ethno-historians. Like the personal trajectories of Petros Lamula and Lymon Maling, the Zulu cultural nationalists examined by La Hausse, Simon's biography 'speak[s] in many ways to the collective historical experience, cultural dilemmas and political imagination of the broader society.'[5]

There is, however, an additional, more specific, reason to probe into the life of Simon Jilundu Chibanza III. Potential heir to at least two chieftaincies of the 'Kaonde' in north-western Zambia, 'missionary boy', 'native clerk', campaigner for the restoration of the Chibanza Native Authority and Court, commercial farmer, member of the African

Provincial and Representative Councils, and finally village headman – Simon was the ultimate mediator, perfectly placed to 'represent the Africans to the Europeans and the Europeans to the Africans.'[6] Yet – unlike many members of his social group, whom Vail's justly influential model holds to have been the 'key actors' in the formulation of the 'new ethnic ideologies' of colonial sub-Saharan Africa[7] – Simon's contribution to the 'creation of tribalism' was negligible. Even though his scholarship was never an end in itself, but was generally subservient to political and personal ambitions, it did not result in the production of a picture of the 'Kaonde' as a historically coherent socio-political unit. Rather, his writings and related political campaigns served precisely to bring out those internal conflicts and fissures which often made colonial officials despair that the clan-based Kaonde-speaking society could ever fit the hierarchical tribal mould they were so desperately striving to implement.

THE 'KAONDE' IN THE EIGHTEENTH AND NINETEENTH CENTURY

In order better to understand the anthropological context of Simon Jilundu Chibanza III's writings and the actual room for historical manipulation at his disposal, it is necessary to begin with a brief overview of the least contentious aspects of the pre-colonial political history of the Kaonde-speaking peoples of present-day Solwezi, Kasempa and Chizela districts of north-western Zambia. Since, as already suspected by a discerning observer in 1915, clan membership among Kaonde-speakers was always 'far stronger than the family and in many cases than the tribe itself',[8] their pre-colonial history is first and foremost the history of the kin-groups to which the function of organising social and political solidarities

was delegated. Most of the exogamous, matrilineal Kaonde sub-clans appear to share a common origin in southern Katanga. Their separate and presumably uncoordinated migrations into the 'thinly populated and well-watered high plateau' of north-western Zambia spanned a period of over one century,[9] and may have been set in motion by the collapse of the Ruund colony on the Mukulweji river towards the end of the seventeenth century and the ensuing rise of a series of 'Lundaized' conquest states – such as the *Musokatanda*'s – along the Congo-Zambezi watershed.[10] Whatever the cause or causes of these small-scale population movements from about 1700, it is clear that the experience of migration and resettlement provided the opportunity for ambitious lineage-heads to raise their status above that of their fellow clansmen. The inception of hereditary political titles and the institution of a tentative form of positional succession were logical outcomes of this dynamic. Neither the incorporation or displacement of the previous Bantu inhabitants of the area – variously referred to as Mbwela and Nkoya – nor the subsequent emergence of discrete supra-clanic polities – in which several sub-clans were brought together by the recognition of the overall suzerainty of a particular title and the sub-clan within which it was inherited – appear ever to have resulted in the constitution of a united, 'tribal', political entity.[11]

By the mid-nineteenth century, the region's political landscape was characterised by the existence of at least two distinct networks of supra-clanic authority. These were centred on two titles, whose separateness and potential rivalry were hardly mitigated by their sharing a common, Luba-derived, language and vague link of subordination to the *Musokatanda*'s polity in southern Congo. While the holders of the *Kapiji* dominated the sub-clans dwelling in the proximity of present-day Kansanshi and Solwezi, the influence of the *Kasempa* was

concentrated in the southern portion of Kaonde country, near modern Kasempa. Unlike the *Kasempa*, which was seemingly never wrested from the ruling lineage of the Bena Kyowa (Mushroom) sub-clan, the *Kapiji* was then the object of fierce competition between the Balonga (Water), Batembuzhi (Lion) and Bena Kyulu (Anthill) sub-clans. Under the leadership of Kasongo Chibanza, the Batembuzhi prevailed over their antagonists, but upon Kasongo's death in the second half of the nineteenth century, the *Kapiji* reverted to their original proprietors, the Balonga of Chuba or Chubamata, whom the Yeke of Msiri would soon nickname Mujimanzovu.[12]

FAMILY BACKGROUND

Jilundu was born in 'Chimimono', his father's village, near Solwezi, 'in about May/June 1899', a date which is 'supposed to be quite reasonably correct in corroberation [*sic*] with the accurate date of Mr George Gray of the Tanganyika Concession Gold Copper Limited who actually arrived at Kansanshi Mine at 12 o'clock noon, 6th September 1899.'[13] Jilundu's father, Kunaka Mwanza, was the holder of the *Chibanza*, a title which had come into being once Kunaka had inherited one of the personal names of Kasongo, his mother's maternal uncle and the only mutembuzhi ever to have held the *Kapiji* dignity in the course of the nineteenth century. The sway of Chibanza I was acknowledged by one of the three main political groupings into which the northern Kaonde sub-clans seem to have subdivided either shortly before or after the death of Kapiji Chubamata Mujimanzovu I and the accession of Katuta Mwilu Mujimanzovu II 'in about 1895'.[14]

Jilundu's mother was Muyange, one of Kunaka's junior wives. She was the daughter of Kamimbi – the son of Kabambala, who held the *Kasempa* up to about 1880, when he was assassinated and replaced by his maternal cousin, Jipumpu – and Lubanjika, the sister of Nsule, holder of the mwina Kyowa title of *Bufuku*.[15] Shortly after the birth of Jilundu, Chibanza I – who, notwithstanding his 'huge and terrific body', was by now 'totally blind' – shifted the location of his village to the Jiwundu swamps and then, 'in 1901', to Mwombezhi, some eighty kilometres to the east of Solwezi. It was there that 'a terrible blow fell upon' the family, as Muyange 'suddenly died after a short illness.' Chibanza I and his two remaining wives did their best to look after the late woman's children, and Jilundu always felt that he and his siblings owed 'an incalculable debt of gratitude' to their father, who 'kindly fed and treated [them] in a wonderful way as [their] guardian.' Jilundu became his 'father's pet and was used in various ways as a guide owing to his blindness.'[16] This obviously deep affection for the old blind chief and his memory goes a long way towards accounting for the alacrity and passion with which Jilundu was later to engage in the battle for the recognition of what he regarded as the historical rights of the *Chibanza*. Chibanza I died in 1916.[17] By that time, his favourite son had, like most motherless Kaonde, moved to Nsule Bufuku's village, where Muyange's matrilineage was centred, and become, in his own words, a 'missionary boy'.[18]

'MISSIONARY BOY'

For much of the colonial period, the Solwezi and Kasempa areas remained the exclusive preserve of the South Africa General Mission (SAGM), a somewhat obscure group of

'loosely-associated, conservative evangelical churches.'[19] Their first mission among the Kaonde was founded, by Rev. A.W. Bailey, in 1910. Initially located at Muyambo's village, the station was soon transferred to the nearby Chisalala stream, closer to the white prospectors and traders at Kansanshi mine. Both at Muyambo and Chisalala, Bailey started small boarding schools, consisting of a few 'bright lads' who were instructed in 'their own language', attended a daily service, and did 'half a day's work each day for their food.' Bailey justified this latter provision by claiming that 'the native of Africa ha[d] known nothing of intellectual application for centuries, and it seem[ed] well to give him plenty of manual training along with his more literary development.'[20] This attitude further expressed itself in his refusal to teach English and reluctance to train teacher-evangelists for independent out-school work. In many respects, Bailey's approach prefigured that of most of his later SAGM epigones, who, according to one of their staunchest critics, attached 'practically no importance to anything except religious teaching.'[21]

Bailey's pedagogical principles did not undergo any radical transformation after 1912, the year in which he left Chisalala to inaugurate Lalafuta mission, some 300 kilometres to the south-west, in the Kasempa sub-district. Even though, bowing to popular pressure, he allowed a small group of his most promising boarders to 'plung[e] bravely into the mysteries of English',[22] language-teaching at Lalafuta remained entirely subordinated to the acquisition of literacy in the vernacular and, especially, to 'daily religious and moral instruction.' Bailey and W.R. Vernon, his successor as missionary-in-charge, also continued to request each pupil 'to work in the Station gardens and about the premises half of each day.'[23] It was under the stewardship of Bailey – to whom he would later refer fondly as 'my Missionary'[24] – that young Jilundu obtained the rudiments of western

education and religion. We do not know the circumstances of his enrolment in Lalafuta boarding school in 1912 or 1913. But given that the SAGM missionaries – their rejection of African customs and traditions notwithstanding – were not unaware of the likely advantages to be derived from the conversion of well-placed Kaonde,[25] the possibility cannot be ruled out that Bailey himself insisted that Jilundu, who must have been known to him as a possible heir to the nearby Bufuku village headship, attend his newly founded school.

Partly as a result of the SAGM being always 'very strict concerning baptism and church fellowship',[26] Bailey's converts during the two years he spent at Lalafuta were only 'four or five.'[27] Jilundu was not among them, for his public 'acceptance of Christ' took place in November 1914, shortly after Bailey's departure for Angola. Vernon's account of the occasion provides the earliest written description of Jilundu's personality. With the benefit of hindsight, and despite its suspiciously stylized preamble, it might be considered as almost prophetic. 'Mwendachavi (who has since wished to have his name changed to Simon) was the first to come' after 'listening to Mrs Vernon speak on the subject of the conversion of the Philippian Jailer.'

> He is one of those persons with a strong character. Even though he says little yet the other boys feel that he is one upon whom they may rely. He is not too quick to learn, but is steady and solid and a willing worker. He is as trustworthy as a policeman in any city should be, and is a natural, born gentleman. We count on him and believe he will one day be a leader among his fellows.[28]

Between 1915 and 1918, Simon Jilundu resided at Musonweji mission – the new name given to Lalafuta once it was relocated thirty or so miles to the north-east of the old site – where he was probably employed as a 'pupil-teacher' in the local boarding school.[29] There were, however, several factors which militated against Simon's continuing stay in Musonweji. The suffocating scrutiny to which the young converts' private lives were subjected – 'we practically live with them,' Vernon wrote between 1914 and 1915, 'we have them under our eye almost all of their waking moments'[30] – was compounded by the absence of out-schools, which under different circumstances might have functioned as safety valves for independently minded individuals who found the patriarchal atmosphere of the central mission station increasingly uncongenial. The very limited opportunities for educational advancement and the unresolved uncertainties surrounding the teaching of English, finally expunged from Musonweji and Chisalala's curricula in 1919,[31] were also unlikely to please such self-improving and ambitious lot as the SAGM's early converts are bound to have been.

In 1918, a year of 'considerable unrest' among the Musonweji 'senior boys',[32] Simon, having decided to bring his relationship with the SAGM to an end, embarked on the long journey to the Primitive Methodist mission in Kafue, the headquarters of a newly inaugurated Native Training Institute. In Kafue, Simon initially joined the primary school where trainees of the normal school or Institute proper acquired practical experience during their three-year-long teacher-training course. It was there that Rev. J.R. Fell, the founder and Principal of the Institute, first 'took an interest in him' as a 'bright and sharp boy.' Towards the end of the year, Simon returned shortly to Kasempa to report the death of one of his travelling companions. After he 'worked his way back to Kafue by cocking for an

engine driver' on the line of rail, and even though he had no money to pay the required yearly fee of £4, Fell accepted him into the normal school.[33]

At that time, the latter was doubtless the most advanced missionary educational institution in Northern Rhodesia, offering a unique combination of both practical and academic subjects. In 1919, in addition to the three R's and English, students of this 'miniature Livingstonia'[34] were taught – and regularly examined in – 'Geography, Agriculture, Hygiene, Building, Construction, Drawing, Singing, Old Testament History to the Conquest of Canaan, History of New Testament Times, introduction to the Synoptic Gospels and Acts, Exegesis of Genesis and Matthew, School Method, Typewriting […].'[35] The language of instruction was a mixture of English and Tonga, but the former – on which the trainees were particularly 'keen' – was expected ultimately to become the only accepted 'teaching medium'.[36] Simon's graduation in the early 1920s turned him into possibly the most highly educated Kaonde-speaker of his generation and opened the door for his employment as a primary school teacher by the Primitive Methodists, a position he held until 1924, the year in which he joined the colonial administration in Livingstone as 'native clerk'.[37]

Although Christianity – which he himself once equated to the search 'for an eternal and everlasting life'[38] – would come to matter less and less in the course of his adult life, Simon's upbringing as a 'missionary boy' left an indelible imprint upon his identity and would later manifest itself in a Manichean understanding of the world and an ultimately damaging incapacity to resolve conflict through compromise. Moreover, Simon's subsequent attempts to achieve a leading position in the sphere of politics betray his awareness of belonging to a privileged social group. And while the roots of his elitism are

clearly to be found in his distinguished family background, it is not hard to imagine them being strengthened by his maturation in the insular environments of Lalafuta-Musonweji and Kafue. On a different level, the difficulties which he had to overcome in order to gain access to post-elementary education and English language-training left him with an unshakable faith in their virtues. Not only would he always impress the value of proper schooling upon his three children and the young relatives whom he was looking after,[39] but he would also expect other members of the upper echelons to do as much. Thus, in the 1930s, one of the elements of his polemic against the then Kasempa, Chibunda, centred on the latter's failure to send 'some of his sons or nephews to school as he [was] in ignorance with regard to the value of education which [was] the most interesting point of evolution in the human history of advancement and culture.'[40]

'NATIVE CLERK'

Simon's fleeting sojourn in Livingstone, the then capital of Northern Rhodesia, was terminated as early as October 1925, when he was transferred to the Kasempa 'boma', the headquarters of both the Kasempa sub-district and district (shortly to be renamed district and province, respectively).[41] His tasks there included 'help[ing] the Native Commissioner when required and issu[ing] rations.' He was apparently 'not very good at typing', 'slow in most things' and his English was still 'only fair'; but he was 'very willing' and his conduct was 'exemplary'.[42] Simon's work as an interpreter for touring officials and during 'indabas' brought him into close contact with local authorities and gave him the opportunity to refresh his knowledge of the territory's past and present. There is little doubt that Simon's

firm grasp of the politics of history-writing is to be traced back to this period and to the insights he gained into the value which British administrators attributed to history as a source of legitimacy for controversial administrative decisions. Particularly illuminating in this latter regard must have been the debates accompanying the implementation of the Native Authorities and Native Courts Ordinances, which Simon had the chance to witness shortly before being reassigned to the Solwezi boma in December 1929.[43] These were exceedingly fierce in the Kasempa district, where the best part of the year was spent in deciding which sub-clan leaders had the right to head the limited number of Authorities and Courts which local officials were prepared to recognize. Genuine uncertainty and bureaucratic delays resulted in two widely differing lists of Native Authorities and Courts being gazetted in short succession. Thus, five of the nine Subordinate Authorities over which the Superior Authority of Chibunda Kasempa presided between March and August 1930 were dissolved and asked to merge with the surviving four in September. With the initial 'enthusiasm' for the advent of Indirect Rule 'marred' by these radical alterations,[44] an exasperated Provincial Commissioner was left to rail against the Kaonde for their

> little or no tribal organisation, and with 25 to 30 years of peace the petty chiefs have drifted apart, not having the urge of raids and war to induce them to cooperate with their neighbours. Consequently the idea of sitting together in council, either as Authorities, or in a Court, is extremely repugnant to them.[45]

Until 1936, Simon's tasks in Solwezi resembled those with which he had already become familiar in Kasempa. The decision to start collecting materials of historical interest – which seems to date to the early 1930s – was quite possibly a reaction against the threat

of a routinized existence. The new challenge in life that Simon might have felt he needed came his way with the temporary abolition of the Solwezi district in 1936. The Lunda, Lamba and Kaonde leaders formerly included in it were subdivided along rough tribal lines and attached to the Mwinilunga, Ndola and Kasempa districts, respectively.[46] The incorporation into the Kasempa district of the Subordinate Native Authorities and Courts of the then Mujimanzovu, Kapijimpanga, Chibanza, Mumena, Matebo and Shilenda was optimistically expected to 'assist materially towards the consolidation of the Kaonde tribe under one authority', the Superior Native Authority and Court of Chibunda Kasempa.[47] The Solwezi boma was closed down only in theory, for its daily running was left in the hands of Simon, now promoted to the rank of clerk-in-charge. Supervised only once a month by touring officials from Kasempa, Simon's local standing increased as dramatically as his work-load during his ten years as clerk-in-charge. His multifarious responsibilities have been thus summed up.

> This Clerk has to despatch and receive the Kasempa and Mwinilunga mails. He issues tax receipts and situpas [identity certificates]. He pays family remittances, collects customs and recruits road and other labourers. He has to receive European loads brought on the weekly lorry mail service and to arrange transport for their despatch to Balovale, Kasempa and Mwinilunga.[48]

Apart from the absence of official judicial powers, which were vested in the Native Courts and the white administrators in Kasempa, Simon's position was no different from that of a 'virtual District Commissioner'.[49] While his British overseers were generally impressed with his performance – and indeed awarded him a Certificate of Honour upon his retirement in 1947[50] – there are indications that his success generated a degree of

uneasiness among some of the Native Authorities of the former Solwezi district. In 1940, for instance, Chembe Kapijimpanga II and his subjects felt that they could not 'report things to him as they could to an official.'[51] Jealousy was probably not the only force at work here, for the distrust with which some local leaders were beginning to look at Simon might well have had something to do with his early historical essays, which started to circulate in the district at about this time.

Simon's first compilation of oral accounts – what he himself called a 'thrilling story taken from several old men'[52] – was occasioned by the death, 'in about 1936-7',[53] of the then Bufuku, Sinzo, who had succeeded Nsule, Simon's mother's uncle, ten years previously. Sinzo, who was ranked as a simple village headman under Chibunda Kasempa, his fellow mwina Kyowa, had been lobbying for his appointment at the head of a Subordinate Native Authority and Court. Simon – who, according to DC Facey, 'wished to inherit the "Bufukuship" […] if the latter's chieftainship were going to be properly revived' – joined the fray with 'Obsoleteness of Bufuku's Chieftaincy'. The text contains both a celebration of the *Bufukus*' past achievements and a scathing attack against those holders of the *Kasempa* who had allowed the chieftaincy of their former right-hand men to 'disappear from existence.'[54]

The earliest remembered Bufuku was one Kaoma, a member of the party which, 'in those immemorial days', the first Kasempa, Chiboko, sent to 'pay his tribute to Paramount Chief Musokatanda of the Balunda Nation.' 'After a long friendly conversation' with Kaoma and his companion Matavu, the then Musokatanda 'came to the conclusion that they were also respectful chiefs. […]. He therefore awarded them with respectful emblems of two feathered crowns […].' This is why, upon their return home, Bufuku Kaoma and

Matavu began to be regarded as 'sub-chiefs under Chiboko Kasempa.' Known as 'General Kambanzhi' – a 'frightful name' which 'should not be given to an ordinary man unless he is a murderer' – Kaoma became Chiboko's principal military aide.[55] After dealing very cursorily with what was presumably a period in which the title fell into abeyance, Simon resumes his narrative with the appointment of his relative Nsule, whose relationship with Kaoma remains unexplained. Once Nsule presented him with one slave and one skull, the then Kasempa, Jipumpu (*c.* 1880 – 1905), whom Simon elsewhere compared to 'Tshaka the Lion of the Zulu',[56] 'told Bufuku that he would be ranked and known as a separate chief under him. […]. Bufuku went on living like this beside Chief Kasempa as his assistant.'[57] In Simon's reconstruction, it was the advent of British rule, coupled with the manoeuvres or 'strategic talk' and expansionist ambitions of Jipumpu's successor, Kalusha Kasempa (1907 – 1926), which sealed the fate of Nsule Bufuku's sub-chieftaincy, destined never to be officially recognized. Far from addressing the question of the *Bufuku*'s standing, Chibunda, the holder of the *Kasempa* at the time of writing, had done his best to 'absorb' their villages and acted 'as an envious person […] always debarring Headman Bufuku['s] status of responsibility.'[58]

When measured against its ability to influence colonial policy-makers, for whose benefit Simon wrote in his powerful, if grammatically unorthodox, English, 'Obsoleteness' was undoubtedly a failure, for neither was the Bufuku sub-chieftaincy – assuming that it ever existed – restored, nor did Simon inherit the village headship to which the title remained linked. All that the text achieved, in fact, was to earn its author the lasting enmity of Chibunda Kasempa, the only Superior Native Authority in the Kasempa district. In the context of Simon's later writings, however, 'Obsoleteness' is important as an early

illustration of his belief in the potential of partisan historiography, a genre to which he was increasingly to turn from the late 1940s.

'Formation of the Kasempa Chieftainship', the other text on which Simon was working in the 1930s, is a history of the Bena Kyowa ruling lineage and the first ten holders of the *Kasempa*.[59] It differs from 'Obsoleteness' both in length and scope, since the aspiration to produce a work of real historical value is here at least as important as Simon's polemical verve and political goals. To be sure, the author does not let the chance pass to remind his readers of Nsule Bufuku's military and ambassadorial responsibilities under Jipumpu Kasempa.[60] His own prestigious family background and 'knowledge of reading and writing', which resulted in his being considered as a possible candidate to the *Kasempa* in 1926, are also expounded on.[61] Yet these narrative asides do not lead Simon to lose sight of the task of reconstructing as faithful as possible a picture of the past. Some of the strategies that he adopted in the furtherance of this latter aim have a strikingly modern resonance for historians of pre-colonial Africa. His repeated attempts to overcome the chronological vagueness of oral accounts and clear awareness of the different historical value of oral traditions and personal reminiscences find no equivalent among Zambian historians of his generation. Nor does the habit of naming his informants, such as 'headman Mpanga', 'decrepit from a long standing case of leprosy' and longing for the days in which he was 'a champion both at war and in stalking game.'[62] From the point of view of his scholarship, the effects of Simon's grudge against the *Kasempas* were not univocal. While obviously a source of possible distortion, his unwillingness to present them in any particularly favourable light may also account for the uncommon frankness of some of his descriptions. Cases in point would appear to be the accounts of the wave of killings which followed

Jipumpu's accession in about 1880, the incidents leading to the latter's recognition of Lozi overlordship in the late 1890s, and his inability to adapt to British rule 'as he had been accustomed to doing bad things without any interruption.'[63]

THE STRUGGLE FOR THE *CHIBANZA*

The abolition of the Native Authority and Court of Chibanza Mulilambonge in 1944 was possibly the single most important event in Simon's life. It led him to take on the colonial administration – the motives of which he might have suspected before, but which had provided him with a source of living and prestige for more than twenty years – and to pursue with increasing determination his vocation as a polemicist-historian. This, in turn, brought into the open his latent conflict with some of the Kaonde Native Authorities.

Mulilambonge had succeeded his maternal uncle, Kunaka Mwanza, Simon's father, as Chibanza II in 1916. Twenty years later, he was the head of a small Subordinate Native Authority and Court with a total population of 1911. His yearly salary was among the lowest in the former Solwezi district, superior only to that of the then Mumena and Shilenda, whose subjects were even less than his own's.[64] Although initially held in high esteem by the administration,[65] by the late 1930s, Mulilambonge was described as a man 'of only average intelligence and energy', and as struggling to refrain the 42 small villages that he controlled from fragmenting any further. Particularly disturbing to the Kasempa officials was his alleged adhesion to the 'Watch Tower sect', a 'subversive element in native society as it [was] tainted both with sexual irregularities and with witchcraft and witchfinding.'[66] In 1941, Chibanza II was found guilty of hiding the presence of one

Swanampanga, a wanted Watch Tower member, in his village. While the enquiring officer, E. Munday, openly advocated his deposition, the Superior Native Authority of Chibunda Kasempa opted for a different course, resolving to reduce his monthly salary from £1.13.4 to £1, 'until he ha[d] shown himself to be more efficient in his duties.'[67] For all this seeming leniency, Chibunda Kasempa had actually very little reason to thrown his weight behind Chibanza II, whose links with the Watch Tower, which chiefs all over the newly dubbed Kaonde-Lunda Province were fighting hard to contain, were compounded by his compromising blood relationship with Simon, the provocative historian and partisan of the *Bufuku*. Given these precedents, it is hardly surprising that when the question arose once again drastically to reduce the number of Subordinate Native Authorities in the Kasempa district, Mulilambonge's was one of the very first to go.

In April 1944, a special meeting of the Kaonde Native Authorities of the Kasempa district was convened with a view to submitting to their attention the proposed administrative reforms. One of the many tangled issues they were requested to solve concerned the connection between the *Chibanza* and the *Mumena*. Having determined to amalgamate the Subordinate Native Authorities and Courts of the latter two positions' current incumbents, the administration needed to know who, between Mulilambonge Chibanza and Kaputula Milundumo Mumena, should have been appointed at the head of the united Authority. After much disputing and wavering, the choice of Chibunda Kasempa and his Subordinate Authorities fell upon Kaputula, whose argument about his title's greater antiquity carried the day.[68] His enforced retirement and the loss of most of his erstwhile privileges caused much bitterness on the part of Chibanza II, who accused Chibunda of being biased – which, as we know, he almost certainly was – and enlisted the

support of the then Sailunga, a Senior Lunda Native Authority in the Mwinilunga district and a close relation of the *Musokatandas*. It was all to no avail, however, and Mulilambonge was told 'quite definitely that the decision already arrived at could not be revolved [*sic*].'[69] But the matter was not put to rest for long, for the reconstitution of the Solwezi district in 1946 prompted Chibanza II to seek a reversal of the unfavourable ruling.[70] After his hopes were once more rebuked in the summer of 1947, the *Chibanzas*' family – led by its most illustrious son, the former clerk-in-charge, Simon – resolved to fight its opponents on their own terrain.

Paradoxically, the opportunity for Simon to bring his historiographical skills to bear on the contest was provided by the administration itself, which in 1949 asked him to help it clarify the nebulous past of the *Mujimanzovu* and *Kapijimpanga* titles, a task which Cadet Stockwell Jones had recently failed to accomplish satisfactorily.[71] This Simon set about to do by recycling some of the materials he had employed ten or so years earlier for the composition of 'Geneses of the Chibanza's Chieftaincy'.[72] The untitled typescript, dated 'Solwezi, 28 December, 1949',[73] begins with a summary of the events leading to the accession of Kasongo Chibanza, the mutembuzhi who held the *Kapiji* for the best part of the nineteenth century.

> I may start first with Kapiji Jingaamba (water totem). […]. He is said to have illegally delegated the Chieftaincy to one Mpanga – his Cousin and of the ants totem [Bena Kyulu]. This man was killed by the Balonga (water totem) led by Chiweshi of the same relation with Kapiji Jingaamba. On the death of Mpanga the Chieftainship was then taken on by one Kasongo, the Prince son of Kapiji Jingaamba and of the lion totem – different to totem from his father.

It was Chubamata (d. *c*. 1895), the mulonga to whom the *Kapiji* was returned upon Kasongo's death, who 'divided the Chieftaincy into three […].' First, Chubamata, known to the Yeke as Mujimanzovu on account of his rich tribute in ivory, awarded the name of the late Kasongo Chibanza and his 'lukano (emblem)' to Kunaka Mwanza, Simon's father. Only then, did he listen to Chalupata, his grandson, who 'demanded to succeed the name' of Mpanga, the late mwina Kyulu holder of the *Kapiji*. At the time, Chalupata was living with Chibanza I on Chimale Hill. After his wishes had been granted, Chalupata

> usurped the name of Kapiji and added to the name of Mpanga. "Kapiji" is the real Chieftainship name of Mujimanzovu and the present Kapijimpanga would be known as Mpanga and not Kapiji as this had only been usurped by his strength of speech.

A few early colonial officials had already expressed their suspicions about the circumstances of Chalupata's ascent at the end of the nineteenth century,[74] but Simon's text contained the first detailed account of the inception of the *Kapijimpanga*. In the heat of the campaign for the restoration of Chibanza II's Native Authority and Court, and without directly calling into question the alleged seniority of the *Mumena*, its implicit purpose was shrewdly to hint at the arbitrary nature of the process of colonial decision-making and the chiefly hierarchies resulting from it. The abolition of Mulilambonge's Authority had been justified by stressing the comparative chronological shallowness of the political title to which it was linked, the *Chibanza*. But, as shown by Simon's reconstruction, the position held by Chalupata's successor, Chembe Kapijimpanga II, whose Native Authority no one

ever dreamed of obliterating, was both marginally more recent and historically less sound than that of Mulilambonge. The readers were left to draw their own conclusions.

While Simon's point was beginning to insinuate itself in the minds of some Solwezi officials,[75] Chibanza II's partisans pursued alternative lines of attack as well. Not only did they resort to what amounted to a form of passive resistance, 'refusing to help [Kaputula Mumena] in his work and refusing to receive him in their villages',[76] but they also began further to weaken the Native Authority into which they had been forcefully incorporated by denouncing the abuses of power to which its head was prone. In November 1951, C.N. Lawrence, the new DC, Solwezi, received an unexpected letter; written in English by Simon, the missive, 'in addition to the usual arguments', alleged that Kaputula 'was in the habit of forcing men to divorce their wives so that he might either marry or make concubines of them.' Although the DC was hardly moved by the contents of the petition – and in fact told Chibanza II 'that he had no hope whatever of having his chieftainship restored' and that 'libel was an offence for which he might be liable to pay large compensation'[77] – it would not be long before this strategy bore its fruits.

From the early 1950s, the main public arena for the ongoing struggle was the recently constituted Solwezi Superior Native Authority (SSNA), which consisted of a number of modern departmental councillors and all of the Kaonde, Lamba and Lunda Subordinate Native Authorities of the district. These latter continued to operate as Courts of first instance, but the SSNA, which also centralized all their prior executive and legislative functions, now acted as a District Appeal Court. Since all of its Kaonde members, with the very notable exception of Kaputula Mumena, had refused to recognize Kasempa Chibunda's successor as their senior, the SSNA was entirely separate from the latter's

Superior Native Authority.[78] Despite the abolition of his Authority, Mulilambonge Chibanza II attended all the meetings of the SSNA and, 'unless prevented, [sat] among the Chiefs.'[79] Simon was also frequently present, initially as an 'interpreter' and, as from October 1953, as an 'elected member', a distinction which he shared with another prominent historian, Thomas Chinyama, who had retired among the Lunda of Solwezi after spending most of his adult life in the Balovale district.[80]

Simon and Chibanza II's unrelenting lobbying attained a first result in 1953, when the SSNA resolved that the latter 'should be a member of Chief Mumena's Court and that Assessors and the Court Clerk should pay periodic visits to ex-Chief Chibanza's village in order that regular sessions of the Court could be held there.'[81] Equally encouraging for Chibanza II must have been his cousin Simon's nomination to the North-Western Province African Provincial Council (NWPAPC), which immediately elected him to the African Representative Council, the highest consultative body in Northern Rhodesia.[82] By deputing Simon to sit in the NWPAPC, the then DC may have hoped to divert his attention from the thorny issue of Chibanza II's recognition. Whatever the calculations of the administration, the sudden death of Mulilambonge early in 1954 sucked Simon back into the realm of local politics. And the moderate nationalist who was becoming accustomed to mix with the likes of Dauti Yamba and Robinson Nabulyato, and to discuss such subjects as the Federal Party's onslaught against the 'government policy of Partnership' or the European shopkeepers' segregationst practices,[83] began a new campaign destined to ensure his appointment at the head of a restored Chibanza Subordinate Native Authority and Court.

This was by far Simon's most ambitious scheme ever, for it involved the reversal of traditional succession patterns. (Simon, of course, belonged to the Bena Kyowa, his

mother's sub-clan, while the *Chibanza* had so far been inherited within the sub-clan of his father, the Batembuzhi.) His inauspicious background notwithstanding, the family's elders did not object to Simon's accession to the *Chibanza* in June 1954. They 'were undoubtedly influenced by the consideration that, although Simon Chibanza was not of the royal "Tembuzhi" totem, he might be a sufficiently able and clever [man(?)] to prevail upon Government to revive recognition of the Chibanza Chieftaincy.'[84] In March 1955, Simon's installation as Chibanza III was officially acknowledged by the Kaonde Native Authorities of the SSNA.[85] When, in May of the same year, Kaputula Mumena was made the object of an official enquiry and his 'incredible' record of 'persistent misdemeanours with other men's wives' finally exposed,[86] the prospect of a successful conclusion to their 11-year-long struggle must have seemed tantalizingly close to Simon Chibanza III and his supporters.

With wild rumours circulating about the *Chibanzas*' villagers taking active steps to resist any representative whom the disgraced Mumena might have sent to their area, and with Simon proudly displaying the 'emblems of chieftaincy' that he had recently obtained from the then Musokatanda,[87] junior and senior officials alike exhibited a new willingness to reconsider their previous positions. While DC Passmore thought that 'Chibanza ha[d] had a poor deal as compared with Mumena',[88] PC Phillips 'regretfully conclude[d] that a mistake [had been] made in suspending the Chibanza chieftainship in 1942 [*sic*], and that we [could] no longer defer rectifying it by restoring the chieftainship.' There was still, however, what, in the light of recent events, the PC must have deemed to be a mere formality: an official request from the Kaonde Native Authorities of the SSNA for the 're-recognition of Chibanza.'[89]

In May 1955, the time in which these lines were scribbled, these same Native Authorities were 'studying' yet another 'memorandum' on the 'origin and history of the Mumena and Chibanza chieftainships' by Simon. It was precisely at this time that everything started to go terribly wrong for the great man, betrayed by his passion for history and desire firmly to ground his claims in it. The 'memorandum' was in fact composed of three parts: a long introductory letter to DC Wethey, dated 7 May 1955, and two separate historical texts entitled 'Short Historical Events in RE Kapiji Kasongo Chibanza Chieftainship' and 'Schedule of Facts Emphasizing Kapiji Kasongo Chibanza's Suzerainty'.[90] Much of Simon's personal letter to Wethey was taken up by an emotional review of the long-drawn-out Chibanza-Mumena affair.

> This is of course an old case but it never rested since 1944 as it bore uncurable [*sic*] ulcer on the part of ex Chief Chibanza together with his people up to his death. Since 1944 ex Chief Chibanza approached almost every District Commissioner stationed both at Kasempa and Solwezi regarding the restoration of the Chibanza chieftaincy. But his complaint was at every time been disregarded and paid no notice to it at all. […]. Ex Chief Chibanza left a word from his groaning bed that he was dying leaving the state of his Chieftainship unresolved by the Government.

While 'Short Historical Events' was simply a recension of his previous writings on the subject of Kasongo Chibanza's accession to the *Kapiji* in the first half of the nineteenth century, 'Schedule of Facts' – which was mainly devoted to the fragmentation of the *Kapiji*'s sphere of influence in the last years of the century – contained some important novelties. First of all, it broadened the scope of Simon's earlier attack against the *Kapijimpanga*. It was in fact 'publicly known by any living creature' that Katuta Mwilu

Jipenda Mujimanzovu II – and no longer, as still asserted in 1949, his predecessor, Chubamata Mujimanzovu I – had divided the 'chieftainship' into 'two and NOT INTO THREE'. This meant that not only did Chalupata usurp the *Kapiji*, but that even his prior adoption of the name 'Mpanga' was questionable.

> So Chalupata preferred to succeed the name of MPANGA without any successional emblems from any chief to enable him to strengthen the bond of chieftainship as it is a general rule among the African race all over the world that no person would form up a new chieftainship unless he had a "LUKANO" (emblem) derived from any superior authority in the person of Mwachiamvwa through Musokatanda. […]. The successional ceremony was merely conducted by Headmen Sandangombe and Nyundo on the other side of the Kimale Hill without the presence of either Chiefs Katutamwiulu Jipenda or Chibanza who was next to his village. No permission was obtained from any other Chiefs.

Simon's treatment of the *Mumena*, which formed the other original section of the text, was equally dismissive. During the early years of Kunaka Mwanza Chibanza I's reign, the holder of the title – the antiquity of which is therefore implicitely recognized – lived in southern Katanga. Mumena Chikukula belonged to same clan as Chibanza I.

> He had some troubles and starvation going on among the Basanga on the Luabala [*sic*] river so he sent messages to Chief […] Chibanza [who] sent two of his young brothers named Katembula and Kambulungwa to go to Luabala [*sic*] to fetch him. They came back with Mumena Chikukula to Chief Chibanza, finding him as a ruler and chief into this country. […]. Mumena Chikukula came in the form of a Headman accompanied by some of his villagers. He was told to make or build close by Chief […] Chibanza. […]. The coming of Mumena Chikukula to this country was only a few years before the Europeans came into his country.

As in the case of Nsule Bufuku, many later problems were a direct consequence of the initial helplessness of colonial officials. It had been the latter who had mistaken Chikukula's successor, 'a mere headman', for a chief. The text ended with a renewed plea swiftly to rectify an untenable situation.

> We have every right to say what we feel and are distisfied [*sic*] to be placed under a village headman whom we brought from the Sangaland […]. [W]ould the Government expect the people to live in peace in an area where a chief of very long standing be amalgamated with a Selfstyled chief, whose chieftainship had only been invented by the advent of the British Government?

Chibanza III's 'memorandum' – the most polemical work of history he ever produced – enraged the Kaonde leaders of the SSNA, who complained that 'it was a very bad thing to despise other chiefs in such ways'. Their reaction was unforgiving. Not only did they refuse to endorse a formal request for the reconstitution of the Chibanza Subordinate Native Authority and Court, but they also sought to nullify their previous approval of Simon's accession to the *Chibanza*. True, they had agreed to Simon 'taking the title Kasongo Chibanza because he had inherited from his father but they had not then known that he would despise them and cause trouble.' The 'extraordinary meeting' at which these bellicose utterances were being recorded ended with the suggestion, by DC Wethey, that Simon ought to have been encouraged to abandon all dreams of restitution and concentrate on his work at Mimosa Farm, a promising commercial venture he had embarked upon after his retirement from government service in the late 1940s.[91] As a result of the Kaonde

Native Authorities' unexpected 'about-face', PC Phillips was forced to make a hasty and slightly embarassing retreat, 'resolving not to recommend recognition for Chibanza after all.'[92]

Simon's fury at seeing defeat snatched from the jaws of victory was uncontrollable. At the beginning of September, having been advised by the DC to move from his predecessor's village 'in Mumena's area to his farm in Mulonga's area, [he] became upset and foolishly boarded a bus to Ndola with the intention of consulting a solicitor there.' Once in Ndola, Simon dropped his initial idea and travelled to Lusaka, wanting to confer with the Secretary for Native Affairs. The latter refused to receive him, and the Provincial Commissioner (Secretariat) enjoined him to 'return immediately to Solwezi' and apologize to the provincial authorities.[93] The disgruntled Simon must have also been informed that the Kaonde Native Authorities had begun to clamour for his removal 'from all representative activities on behalf of the Native Authority (the Provincial Council, etc.)'[94] To add injury to insult, between March and April 1956, Kaputula was officially deposed and a new Mumena selected and installed in his stead.[95] Moses Munangwa Mumena was a much tougher adversary than his predecessor. A former teacher and Forestry Councillor in the SSNA, he posed an unprecedented threat to Simon's hitherto unchallenged local monopoly over western education and skills. Not surprisingly, the 'Chibanza people […] would have supported the weaker candidates for the Chieftaincy in anticipation of an easier struggle for the recognition of their own Chieftaincy.'[96]

Still in the early part of 1956, in an attempt to ease the unresolved tension between Moses Munangwa Mumena and Chibanza III's 'rabid supporters', the administration proposed to attach to the former's Native Authority 'a Mutembuzhi from Chibanza', whose

sole function would have been 'to assist Chief Mumena with special responsibility to him for the Chibanza people.'[97] Simon – who, as the extensor of the plan knew very well, did not belong to the Batembuzhi sub-clan and was therefore excluded *a priori* from its provisions – is likely to have found it offensive in the extreme. And whatever uncertainties might have remained as regards the practical modalities of its implementation were unequivocally dispelled at the end of the year, when the SSNA explicitly declared its support for the proposal to be conditional on Chibanza III not being considered as a possible candidate for the special councillorship.[98]

It is in this rather desperate context that Simon's last grand scheme – outlined in a private interview with the PC at the beginning of 1957 – must be placed. What he now envisaged was 'the transfer of [his] area from Chief Mumena to Chief Mujimanzovu', whom Simon considered to be the direct descendant of the original holders of the *Kapiji*, a title of unquestionable historical legitimacy among the northern Kaonde-speaking peoples. The obvious outcome of the move, as the DC explained in yet another *ad hoc* meeting of the SSNA, would have been the 'necessity for the abolition' of the Mumena Subordinate Native Authority and Court, 'too small to exist alone.' Moses Munangwa reacted by stressing that

> he had done his best to arrive at an understanding with Mr. Chibanza and the Chibanza village headmen. He claimed that all the Chibanza Headmen with the exception of Mr. Chibanza and 5 others supported him. He did not believe that there was any real popular support for Mr. Chibanza's request.

The fate of Simon's plan was sealed when its main potential beneficiary – the then Mujimanzovu – himself expressed his disagreement with it.[99] To say – as implied by Mumena – that Simon had by then lost touch with his constituency would probably be to overstate the case. Yet it is reasonable to surmise that weariness and a desire for accommodation – the result of nearly 15 years of unrelenting, but almost entirely unsuccessful, struggles – had began to sap the determination of the *Chibanza*'s partisans. This seems to be borne out by the fact that the popular election of the special councillor for the Chibanza area in April 1957 was not boycotted. While Simon retreated to his village, destined to die a 'mere headman', the mutembuzhi John Chambala was installed in the new post.[100]

CONCLUSION

We know frustratingly little about Simon's later years as Chibanza III. Still, an impressionistic picture of increasing withdrawal from mundane affairs and contemplation of past failures and mistakes is probably no mere literary trope. Having had to come to terms with the wreckage of his efforts to resurrect his father's former chiefdom, and having experienced a drastic drop in public visibility after his failure to be re-elected to the SSNA in 1956 and the abolition of the Provincial and Representative Councils in 1958, headman Simon would also live to see his claim to have been 'the first peasant farmer' in the Solwezi district cruelly undermined by the demise of his Mimosa Farm. Drawing advantage from the absence of tsetse in the then Mulonga's territory, where the farm was sited, and the proximity of the Kansanshi market, by the mid-1950s, Mimosa boasted 'ten oxen', 'five

ploughs' and a yearly production of '120 bags of maize.' While the current price of 22 shillings per bag was not yet enough to ensure the economic viability of the farm, Simon trusted that the proposed establishment of the Maize Control Board in the province would have made matters easier.[101] However, when faced with the choice between Mimosa and the *Chibanza*, the son of Kunaka Mwanza Chibanza I opted for the latter. The relatives whom he left in charge of Mimosa – some seventy kilometres from Chibanza's village as the crow flies – proved ill-equipped for the task. Failing to benefit from the expansion of the Copperbelt from the late 1950s, and unable to pay their labourers, they began to strip the farm of its movable assets, including the 35 heads of cattle that Simon had accumulated. By the time of his death in 1974, 'there was nothing left at Mimosa apart from the land.'[102] Yet another dream had foundered.

Despite all this, this writer and a few other living admirers of Simon Jilundu Chibanza III like to think that the belated publication of some of his historical works in 1961-2 impressed upon the old man that not all had been in vain.[103] For while current politics, as Simon had had the chance repeatedly to witness, changed rapidly and not always predictably, written history, as he had also known from at least the late 1920s, remained. Although it had failed to bring about any of his ambitious aims in the course of his life-time, it was with his – and not his opponents' – interpretation of the past that future generations would become familiar. Simon may have found consolation in the thought that others might see fit to take up the struggles to the furtherance of which his scholarship had been consecrated.

Academic historians, too, have something to learn from Simon's works. Being mostly concerned with their overtly political character, this paper has deliberately ignored the

question of the extent to which Simon's writings can be taken to mirror actual historical events. Even this approach, however, reveals Simon's total lack of committment to the presentation of a tribal version of the Kaonde past. No matter how profound his immersion in the British colonial world, Simon was never won over by its 'hegemonic, taken-for-granted assumption […] that the basic social unit within which rural Africans lived was the "tribe".'[104] This had clearly something to do with his ability to explore the intellectual interstices which even such powerful construct as the colonial discourse on tribes left open. But it was also in no small part the effect of the constraints placed upon his imagination by the cultural and historical materials at his disposal. Simon's works, more than those of most of his Zambian colleagues, remind us that even in still predominantly oral societies there were always 'limits' to the power of 'historical invention'.[105]

NOTES

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[1] 'Literate ethno-history' has usefully been defined as 'a half-product, halfway between such traditions and reminiscences as operate within a strictly local frame of reference, on the one hand, and scholarly argument, on the other.' W. van Binsbergen, *Tears of Rain. Ethnicity and History in Central Western Zambia* (London and New York, 1992), 60. The most representative analyses of ethno-historical literature in West Africa are possibly R. Law, 'Early Yoruba Historiography', *History in Africa*, III (1976), 69-89; R.G. Jenkins, 'Gold Coast Historians and Their Pursuit of the Gold Coast Pasts: 1882-1917' (2 vols.) (Ph.D. thesis, University of Birmingham, 1985); J.D.Y. Peel, 'The Cultural Work of Yoruba Ethnogenesis', in E. Tonkin, M. McDonald and M. Chapman (eds.), *History and Ethnicity* (London, 1989), 198-215; and R. Law, 'Local Amateur Scholarship in the Construction of Yoruba Ethnicity, 1880-1914', in L. de la Gorgondière, K. King and S. Vaughan (eds.), *Ethnicity in Africa. Roots, Meanings and Implications* (Edinburgh, 1996), 55-90. For the Great Lakes Region, see J.A. Rowe, 'Myth, Memoir and Moral Admonition: Luganda Historical Writing, 1893-1969', *Uganda Journal*, XXXIII (1969), 17-40, 124, 217-19; M. Twaddle, 'On Ganda Historiography', *History in Africa*, I (1974), 85-100; J.-P. Chrétien, 'Confronting the Unequal Exchange of the Oral and the Written', in B. Jewsiewicki and D. Newbury (eds.), *African Historiographies. What History for Which Africa?* (Beverly Hills, 1986), pp. 75-90; and C. Vidal, 'Alexis Kagame entre Mémoire et Histoire', *History in Africa*, XV (1988), 493-504.

[2] R. Papstein, 'From Ethnic Identity to Tribalism: the Upper Zambezi Region of Zambia, 1830-1981', in L. Vail (ed.), *The Creation of Tribalism in Southern Africa* (London, 1989), 372-94; van Binsbergen, *Tears of Rain*; G. Macola, 'Literate Ethnohistory in Colonial Zambia: the Case of *Ifikolwe Fyandi na Bantu Bandi*', *History in Africa*, XXVIII (2001), 187-201.

[3] R.J.A.R. Rathbone, '"Have You Heard My Message to My Fathers?" The Private Consciences and Public Lives of Two Remarkable Africans', inaugural lecture, SOAS, 30 May 1996.

[4] Before he inherited the *Chibanza* title in 1954, Simon Jilundu was already known as Chibanza. This surname will appear in the footnotes when referring to his writings, but it will not be employed in the main text other than in direct quotation. Hereditary titles are written throughout in italics. I use standard characters only when the title in question is accompanied by the personal name of its holder, or when the context makes it plain that I am alluding to one particular, if unnamed, individual incumbent.

[5] P. La Hausse, *Restless Identities. Signatures of Nationalism, Zulu Ethnicity and History in the Lives of Petros Lamula (*c. *1881-1948) and Lymon Maling (1889-*c. *1936)* (Pietermaritzburg, 2000), 2.

[6] P.F. de Moraes Farias and K. Barber, 'Introduction', in *id*. (eds.), *Self-Assertion and Brokerage. Early Cultural Nationalism in West Africa* (Birmingham, 1990), 1.

[7] L. Vail, 'Introduction: Ethnicity in Southern African History', in *id*., *Creation of Tribalism*, 11-2.

[8] F.H. Melland's interpolated comments on 'Extracts from E.A. Copeman's Report, 31 March 1908', Solwezi District Notebook, 22-8, National Archives of Zambia (NAZ), Lusaka, KTB1/1. Melland is also the author of *In Witch-Bound Africa. An Account of the Primitive Kaonde Tribe & Their Beliefs* (London, 1923).

[9] D. Jaeger, 'A general survey of the historical migration of the Kaonde clans from southern Congo into Zambia', *Tropical Man*, IV (1973), 12.

[10] See G. Macola, *The Kingdom of Kazembe. History and Politics in North-Eastern Zambia and Katanga to 1950* (Hamburg, 2002), 37-42.

[11] K. Crehan, *The Fractured Community. Landscapes of Power and Gender in Rural Zambia* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London, 1997), 69-70.

[12] For all the above, see Jaeger, 'General survey', 20-1, 26-7.

[13] S.J. Chibanza, 'Geneses of the Chibanza's Chieftaincy', in *id*., *Central Bantu Historical Texts I. Part II: Kaonde History* (Lusaka, 1961), 91-114. (The above quotation is to be found on page 112; internal evidence suggests that 'Geneses' was compiled 25 or so years before the date of its publication.)

[14] *Ibid*., 104-07.

[15] Interview with Benjamin J. Mulenga, Solwezi, 18 January 2002; S.J. Chibanza, 'Formation of the Kasempa Chieftainship', in *id*., *Central Bantu Historical Texts I*, 43-85 (especially, 45-56).

[16] Chibanza, 'Geneses', 108-09, 113.

[17] 'Chiefs', Solwezi District Notebook, 284-86, NAZ, KTB1/1.

[18] Chibanza, 'Formation', 80; interview with Joseph J. Kyajima, Kitwe, 18 January 2002; W. Watson, 'The Kaonde Village', *Rhodes-Livingstone Journal (Human Problems in British Central Africa)*, 15 (1954), 24.

[19] P.D. Wilkin, 'To the Bottom of the Heap: Educational Deprivation and Its Social Implications in the Northwestern Province of Zambia, 1906-1945' (Ph.D. thesis, Syracuse University, 1983), 136.

[20] A.W. Bailey, in *The South African Pioneer*, XXIII (Oct. 1910), 161; XXIV (Feb. 1911), 26; XXIV (April 1911), 52-3.

[21] F.H. Melland, 'Memorandum by the Acting Magistrate and District Commissioner, Kasempa District, on Chisalala Mission (S. Africa General Mission)', 15 Feb. 1917, encl. in Melland to Chief Secretary, 15 Feb. 1917, NAZ, B1/62/1.

[22] A.W. Bailey, in *The South African Pioneer*, XXVII (Oct. 1914), 151-52.

[23] W.R. Vernon, in Kasempa Sub-District, Annual Report for the Year Ending 31 March 1916, NAZ, ZA7/1/3/6.

[24] Chibanza, 'Formation', 80.

[25] See, e.g., E. Harris, in *The South African Pioneer*, XXVII (Feb. 1914), 23-4.

[26] Foster to DC (Kasempa), 24 Dec. 1930, in Kasempa District, Annual Report for the Year 1930, NAZ, ZA7/1/13/6.

[27] W.R. Vernon, in *The South African Pioneer*, XXVIII (Feb. 1915), 23-5.

[28] W.R. Vernon, in *The South African Pioneer*, XXVIII (May 1915), 68-70. This is the only recorded instance in which Jilundu is referred to as 'Mwendachavi'; I ignore the meaning of the name or nickname, if any.

[29] T.W. Williams, 'South Africa General Mission: Musonwedzi', 1 Dec. 1919, encl. in Act. DC (Kasempa) to Secretary for Native Affairs, 18 Dec. 1919, NAZ, B1/62/1.

[30] Vernon, in *The South African Pioneer*, XXVIII (May 1915), 68-70.

[31] Foster to Parsons, 5 March 1920, in Kasempa Sub-District, Annual Report for the Year Ending 31 March 1920, NAZ, ZA7/1/4/6.

[32] A.A. Wilson, in *The South African Pioneer*, XXXII (Aug.-Sept. 1919).

[33] Fell to Barkby, 17 March 1919, Methodist Missionary Society Archives, Primitive Methodist Missionary Society (MMSA, PMMS), SOAS, London, Box 1187.

[34] I borrow this definition from P. Snelson, *Educational Development in Northern Rhodesia, 1883-1945* (Lusaka, 1990; first edition, 1974), 57.

[35] Native Training Institute, Annual Report for the Year Ending 1 March 1919, MMSA, PMMS, Box 1142.

[36] Native Training Institute, Report for Quarter Ending Sept. 1918, MMSA, PMMS, Box 1141. See also Fell to Barkby, 3 Feb. 1919, MMSA, PMMS, Box 1187.

[37] Interviews with J.J. Kyajima and B.J. Mulenga. For the date of Simon's entrance into government service, see Passmore to PC (North-Western Province), 10 Nov. 1953, encl. in Act. PC (North-Western Province) to Secretary for Native Affairs, 25 Jan. 1954, NAZ, SEC5/37.

[38] Chibanza, 'Formation', 81.

[39] Interview with B.J. Mulenga.

[40] Chibanza, 'Formation', 84.

[41] 'Native Clerks Stationed at Kasempa', Kasempa District Notebook, 80, NAZ, KDD5/1.

[42] Kasempa Sub-District, Annual Report for the Year Ending 31 Dec. 1926, NAZ, ZA7/1/10/6.

[43] For the date of Simon's transfer to Solwezi, see Solwezi District, Annual Report for the Year Ending 31 Dec. 1929, NAZ, ZA7/1/12/6.

[44] Kasempa District, Annual Report for the Year 1930, NAZ, ZA7/1/13/6.

[45] Kasempa Province, Annual Report for the Year 1930, NAZ, ZA7/1/13/6.

[46] 'Solwezi Station', Solwezi District Notebook, 200-04, NAZ, KTB1/1.

[47] PC (Central Province) to Chief Secretary, 4 Jan. 1937, NAZ, SEC2/39.

[48] 'Copy of Undated Pencil Draft by Mr. H.A. Watmore', encl. in Clough to Chief Secretary, 17 Aug. 1944, NAZ, SEC2/39.

[49] Passage expunged from a draft of Annexure 2, Solwezi Tour Report, 1, 1952, pasted on Solwezi District Notebook, 289-92, NAZ, KTB1/1.

[50] Passmore to PC (North-Western Province), 10 Nov. 1953.

[51] Kasempa Tour Report, 2, 1940, NAZ, SEC2/936.

[52] S.J. Chibanza, 'Obsoleteness of the Bufuku's Chieftaincy', in *id*., *Central Bantu Historical Texts I*, 86-90. (The above quotation is to be found on page 86.)

[53] Handwritten note, by S.D. Facey, DC in Kasempa between 1935 and 1942, at the bottom of page four of 'Obsoleteness of Bufuku's Chieftaincy', typescript placed at the end of the Kasempa District Notebook, NAZ, KDD5/1.

[54] Chibanza, 'Obsoleteness', 90.

[55] *Ibid*., 86, 88.

[56] Chibanza, 'Formation', 68.

[57] Chibanza, 'Obsoleteness', 89.

[58] *Ibid*., 86, 90.

[59] The period of the compilation of the first version of 'Formation' is borne out by internal evidence. When it first handled it in 1943, the African Literature Committee of Northern Rhodesia (ALCNR) referred to the text as 'Kaonde History'. (Meeting of the ALCNR, 28 May 1943, NAZ, SEC2/1140.) Two years later, the Provincial Education Officer, Kaonde-Lunda Province, to whom the 'Kaonde History' had been passed on for comments, wrote to the ALCNR to suggest the publication of a Kaonde translation. (Meeting of the ALCNR, 14 Dec. 1945, NAZ, SEC2/1140.) While the translation was completed shortly afterwards with the help of P. Letchford, SAGM missionary in Mutanda since 1944, it was only published, by the Northern Rhodesia Publications Bureau, as late as 1962 and with the title *Bufumu Bwabukasempa*. The cover of *Bufumu Bwabukasempa* bears no information as regards its publisher and the date of publication, but these can be

found in Northern Rhodesia Government, *African Education. Annual Summary for the Year 1962* (Lusaka, 1963).

[60] Chibanza, 'Formation', 60, 62, 67.

[61] *Ibid*., 55-6, 83-4.

[62] *Ibid*., 50.

[63] *Ibid*., 52-5, 66-7, 69.

[64] Facey to PC (Western Province), 20 Sept. 1938, NAZ, NWP1/6/2.

[65] See, e.g., Solwezi Sub-District, Annual Report for the Year Ending 31 Dec. 1926.

[66] Kasempa Tour Report, 3, 1938, NAZ, SEC2/934.

[67] Munday to Chief Secretary, 31 July 1941; 10 Nov. 1941, NAZ, SEC2/1223.

[68] 'Proposals for Reorganisation of Kaonde Administration. Notes of Meetings Held with Chiefs at Kasempa', 21-25 April 1944, NAZ, NWP1/6/2.

[69] Mulilambonge Chibanza II to DC (Kasempa), 20 July 1944, encl. in DC (Kasempa) to PC (Kaonde-Lunda Province), 25 July 1944, NAZ, NWP1/6/2.

[70] Watmore to DC (Kasempa), 6 Aug. 1947; Watmore to DC (Solwezi), 19 Aug. 1947; DC (Solwezi) to Watmore, 10 Sept. 1947, NAZ, NWP1/6/2.

[71] Solwezi Tour Report, 4, 1949; Leversedge to Thomas, 8 Dec. 1949, NAZ, NWP1/2/19.

[72] See above, n. 13.

[73] Enclosure in Thomas to Leversedge, 2 Jan. 1950, NAZ, NWP1/2/19. A copy is to be found in NAZ, NWP1/10/9.

[74] See, e.g., Melland, *Witch-Bound Africa*, 43-4, and Solwezi Sub-District, Annual Report for the Year Ending 31 Dec. 1926.

[75] See Solwezi Tour Report, 2, 1952, NAZ, SEC2/976.

[76] Solwezi Tour Report, 1, 1952, NAZ, SEC2/976.

[77] *Ibid*.

[78] Meeting of the SSNA, 13 Dec. 1951, NAZ, SEC5/307.

[79] Solwezi Tour Report, 1, 1952.

[80] Meeting of the SSNA, 19-20 Oct. 1953, NAZ, SEC5/307. Chinyama was the author of *The Early History of the Balovale Lunda* (Ndola, 1945).

[81] Meeting of the SSNA, 14-16 May 1953, NAZ, SEC5/307.

[82] Meeting of the NWPAPC, 2 Nov. 1953, NAZ, NWP1/1/19.

[83] *Ibid.*; Northern Rhodesia Government, *African Representative Council. The Proceedings of the Third Session of the Third Council, Held at the Munali Secondary School, Lusaka, 12th October – 14th October 1954* (Lusaka, 1954).

[84] Solwezi Tour Report, 7, 1956, NAZ, NWP1/2/81.

[85] Solwezi Tour Report, 5, 1955, NAZ, SEC2/979.

[86] Phillips to Stubbs, 18 Aug. 1955, NAZ, SEC5/252.

[87] Solwezi Tour Report, 5, 1955.

[88] Passmore to DC (Kasempa), 27 Jan. 1955. This letter and the attached 'Brief Notes on the History and Relationships. Kaonde Chieftaincies of Solwezi' are to be found in a folder, labelled 'MISC/A/5', enclosed in the Solwezi District Notebook, NAZ, KTB1/1. D.F. Passmore's 'Brief Notes' are 'mostly based on information supplied by Simon Chibanza' and are in fact very similar to his untitled typescript of December 1949.

[89] F.R.G. Phillips' comments on Solwezi Tour Report, 5, 1955.

[90] Enclosures in Wethey to Finance Councillor (SSNA), 4 Aug. 1955, loose sheets placed at the end of the Solwezi District Notebook, NAZ, KTB1/1.

[91] Extraordinary Meeting of the SSNA, 19-22 July 1955, NAZ, SEC5/307.

[92] Phillips to Stubbs, 12 Aug. 1955, NAZ, SEC5/252.

[93] Price to Phillips, 6 Sept. 1955, NAZ, SEC5/252.

[94] Phillips to Stubbs, 18 Aug. 1955.

[95] Price to Act. PC (North-Western Province), 29 Feb. 1956, NAZ, SEC5/252.

[96] Solwezi Tour Report, 7, 1956.

[97] *Ibid*.

[98] Meeting of the SSNA, 3 Dec. '1957' (*sic*, but 1956), NAZ, SEC5/307.

[99] Meeting of the SSNA, 25 March 1957, NAZ, SEC5/307.

[100] Meeting of the SSNA, 27 June 1957, NAZ, SEC5/307.

[101] Meeting of the NWPAPC, 28-29 May 1956, NAZ, SEC5/37.

[102] Interview with J.J. Kyajima.

[103] Chibanza, *Central Bantu Historical Texts I*, and *Bufumu Bwabukasempa*.

[104] Crehan, *Fractured Community*, 54.

[105] I am of course referring to C. Hamilton, *Terrific Majesty. The Powers of Shaka Zulu and the Limits of Historical Invention* (Cambridge, Mass., and London, 1998).